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TAB "A"

PROPOSED TERMS OF REFERENCE

The Problem:

1. To estimate the likelihood of the USSR deliberately initiating war during 1952.

Scope:

2. Soviet strategic, political and economic objectives.

3. Soviet courses of action to date to accomplish her strategic, political and economic objectives.

4. Soviet successes

- a. Political consolidation of European Satellites
- b. Conversion of Satellite industry to meet Soviet requirements
- c. Rearmament and increase of strength of Satellite armed forces
- d. Soviet industrial development
- e. Soviet technological advancement
- f. Other

5. Soviet failures

- a. Failure at CFM agenda conference at Paris, Spring of 1951
- b. Communist failure to drive UN forces from Korea
- c. Possible unsatisfactory developments at the Kaesong conference
- d. Failure at San Francisco conference
- e. Failure to halt Western rearmament including West German
- f. Failure to create dissention in NATO
- g. Failure of VM to drive French from Indochina

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- h. Continued Yugoslav intransigence
  - i. Failure to block initial steps toward Japanese rearmament
  - j. Behavior of delegates at the youth conference in Berlin, 1951
  - k. Other
6. Factors which might cause Soviets deliberately to go to war:
- a. Increasing Western rearmament including West German
  - b. Increase in U. S. atomic stockpile from one of "scarcity" to one of "plenty"
  - c. Situation in Korea
  - d. Japanese rearmament
  - e. Progress towards U. S. industrial mobilization
  - f. Chinese Communist military demands
  - g. Inclusion of Greece, Turkey, in NATO
  - h. U. S. - Spanish cooperation arrangement
  - i. Military aid to Yugoslavia
  - j. Other
7. Probable Soviet Courses of action:
- a. —
  - b. —
  - c. —
  - .
  - .
- x. Most likely course of action in 1952
8. Conclusion:

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